342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekçá is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.
513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.
351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]
352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekçá above his hammock -- bows, arrows, waraclub, and horn.
352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.
• 412 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
241 pare the thread and the netting.
354 Inside the ekçá, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.
342 Around the ekçá stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ekçá], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
513 never set foot in the ekçá. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting,

[2] [Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but became of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and naming.—According to Martius, the father keeps to his hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children reach their 8th year, their tattooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

Puberty and marriage.—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

24/476 garden invited all the other men of the village to help him. He supplied the food, usually palm fruit and sweet manioc beverages, consumed while actually doing the work. The work was done under the general supervision of the man whose garden was being cleared. However, his directing activities consisted of little more than deciding the location and extent of the garden. The burning and final clearing of the garden were done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. He and his wife planted all of the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc was done for each garden by all of the people in the village as this was a more extensive operation and was well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dug the holes for the planting of the manioc stalks while the women gathered and cut the stalks and dropped the sections into the holes.

24/476 Other crops were harvested as they ripened, but manioc, which can be left in the ground for a year, was harvested as needed. Almost all vegetables were gathered in from the gardens by the wife of the owner of the garden assisted by one or two women of her household, but the manioc was brought in by all the women of the household. The tubers were dug up from any one of the gardens belonging to the members of the household, processed by all the women of the house jointly and shared by all the members of the extended 252 family dwelling within it. Each house had one large flat stone that was used as a griddle to bake the flat cakes of manioc flour, or beiju, as it is called in the lingua geral.

the men's house. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. It was not considered polite to demand something from another. Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

Division of labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Munduruc productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

in any way. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucu was especially deep. The men hunted, fished, and did only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also made baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women did all of the other gardening work, processed manioc, cooked, tended children, wove hammocks, made pottery, and fetched water and firewood. The burden of the more onerous work fell on the women. The men had far more leisure time.

Within the sexes, and on occasion cross-sexually, cooperation was the keynote of the Mundurucu economy. Except for crafts, which were almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts involved people working as a group. This is not to discount the non-cooperative pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trailing, bow and arrow fishing, and the planting of minor crops, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture was done by numbers of men working in coordination.

Housebuilding was also a collective task in which men did the heavy work of construction while women and children aided in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since housebuilding was almost always done only when the villages moved, every household helped the others in the task of construction. All the houses of the new village rose uniformly instead of being completed one at a time.

Among the women the same held true. The women made hoils together, harvested crops together and even went

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1956].

The Mundurucú once inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajos River in the state of Para, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thin vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on to same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured smaller hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consists of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the weaving paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clan and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar unit in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because he focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the extreme perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack.

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The women and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the ego's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family.

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by warm and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams.

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient.

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households.

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the ends in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other products:

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioc, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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222 articles collected are several species of palm fruit, the Brazil nut, the fruit of the *cajú* tree (*Anacardium corymbosum*), wild cocoa, *mangaba*, and several varieties of berries.

222 462 Wild foods found only at long distances from the village are always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they have been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees are near the village, one man or an older boy usually goes out with a party of women, the male to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it [481] home. Climbing is done with the climbing ring, a loop of vine passed around the feet, which gives sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps—similar to the principle employed by our lumbermen using a belt. For fruits far out on limbs, hooked sticks are used to drag the limbs down, or the climber chops the limb off. [262] Fruits are not a staple food, but they are valuable adjuncts to the diet and greatly appreciated delicacies.

HORTICULTURE

241 Mundurucú gardening is done by the slash-and-burn method used throughout the tropical areas of the New World. The garden is cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation is allowed to dry during the dry season, and the plot is burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks are dragged off to one side and the ground is then ready for planting after the first rains, which usually occur in the beginning of September in this region.

241 262 Among the crops of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú are several varieties of bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which form the dietary staple, sweet manioc (*Manihot aypi*), yam (*Dioscorea sp.*), sweet po-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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ECONOMIC LIFE

241 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done
47% by the owner, usually aided by other members of his
462 household. His wife and the other women of the house
plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid
252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beijú*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beijú manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from
[462] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The
[462] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *pariuba* palm, halved and placed side by side to form a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against
[111] the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctated with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipiti*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipiti is suspended at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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252 in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into baskets and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipití, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized [463] occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftaincy—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, fetch water and firewood, weave hammocks, and make [377] pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured articles.

462 Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally between the sexes, coöperation is the keynote of the 476 Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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ing, and bow-and-arrow fishing, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture is done by numbers of men working in coördination. 462 476

House-building is also a collective task; men do the heavy work of construction while women and children aid in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since house-building is almost always done only when the entire village moves, every household helps the others in the task of construction. All houses of the new village rise uniformly instead of being completed one at a time, thus giving considerable efficiency in the collection and preparation of material.

Women, also, rarely work alone. Farinha is manufactured in a true division of tasks corresponding to the number of distinct steps in the process. Thus, one group of women is occupied in digging up the tubers and transporting them to the village; two or three more women grate the manioc; two others work the tipití; another sieves the wet flour; and, finally, two women are busy toasting the product on the copper griddle. Chores are occasionally exchanged. Whatever the relative advantages or disadvantages in efficiency that may be obtained through coöperation, the sheer drudgery of farinha production is mitigated, for these are sociable gatherings. The females of one household form the minimal work unit, and all women of the village commonly join in. Coöperative manioc processing by all village women originated after contact with the whites, and informants say that as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century the women of single households constituted the basic work groups. Depopulation has contributed to this change, for in former times the household-extended family included as many women as there are in some modern villages. Also, before the introduction of the large, copper pans, beijú and farinha were toasted on ce- [415]

477 462 476

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally considered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the women always seek company when they go to the stream to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Coöperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöperate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of farinha, especially when large quantities are to be produced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals or extended families.

That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks.

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family.

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa-

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brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the men's house, have very loose ties with their households. Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented about any household economy, and the boys take little part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village,

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ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Munduruçú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

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crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the new larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

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done by the men, women, and children, working in common.

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reëstablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun-

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THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the missions.

Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipiti for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

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clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

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*241 372 them to work too quickly, or else they would merely burn the small branches and foliage and leave the trunks intact. The trees would be charred rather than burned.

To set the brush on fire, the Munduruků use torches made of dry straw or of certain resinous woods. With them, they set fire to various parts of the clearing. If there are other gardens or even houses nearby, and danger that the fire may reach them, they often [816] burn first a narrow strip of brush lying below the wind, so that later on the great fire in the clearing will meet a firebreak and will not go on to the neighboring forest or house. As a rule, they also prefer to burn the clearings before they set fire to the grasslands, as is their [821] custom. According to them, the burning of huge expanses of grasslands would attract rainfalls that would interfere with the burning of the clearings.

6. The remaining brush. Taipa is "the brush"; "to pile up the brush" — taipa chign or taipa chichign; "to burn the brush" — taipa mapign or simply imapign, "to burn."

While the thin branches and trunks burn within hours or within a day, the larger trunks take longer, burning down slowly. Then comes the turn of the remaining brush. Foliage, branches, and pieces of timber which have not burned up completely are gathered together and piled up on top of the thicker, still smoldering trunks, the better to destroy them. Then fire is set once more to this pyre, in order to reduce the remaining timber to ashes and clear the ground for planting.

Like all garden tasks, the burning, the piling up of the brush, and the burning of the pyre require practice and ability. Otherwise the Indian will get a poorly burned field.

*24 [921] 7. Digging and planting. Next comes the time of planting, in the month of September or October, depending on the first rains. Men and women go to the new plot to plant together. Planting is a dual task consisting of two distinct acts: digging or opening up the ground, and planting, /11/ that is to say, slipping the bitter-manioc •[462] shoots into the ground. The first task is the man's, the second the woman's.

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*241 ●462 [512] The man digs or opens a hole in the ground (kudn). He does this with a "digging stick," which consists of a strong rod, about 2 meters long, pointed at the lower end. The man pushes this rod hard into the ground, at an angle of 30 to 45 degrees, and then straightens it to a vertical position. This opens a small pit into which the woman who accompanies him puts two or at most three shoots of bitter manioc (8) (manok taisabm or manok ip maum). Removing the tip

[131] [244]

8. Manivo /bitter manioc/ is the name of the plant and the generic name of this vegetable (Manihot utilissima), while the roots, in the form of large tubercles, are called "mandioca." The bitter-manioc stalks, after the harvest, are saved for the next planting, when they are cut into pieces of 20 centimeters at most. These pieces, or "manioc shoots," are planted in the manner indicated above, for manioc does not propagate itself through seeds.

of the stick from the pit, she steps on /the pit/ to close it up and to pack the soil, but in such a way that the upper ends of the manioc shoots stick out in order to grow branches and leaves. Under the in- [177] fluence of civilization, nowadays the Munduruků are already using spades and even iron digging tools. The distance between the manioc pits is approximately 1 meter on the average.

*241 There is no doubt that the Munduruků carry out their horticultural work within a certain system, not only as regards the steps involved in clearing the plot but also in the planting itself. There is a sequence to the planting steps. In the time that elapses between the final burning and the planting, as a rule they sow watermelon, which thrives amazingly in the recently burned ground. Only then

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the peasant population of "Bá." Let us note here /19/ merely some key terms: choice of the site and use of fallow plots (:101), clearing and felling (:103), burning and planting (:104), chief cultivated plants (:102), secondary cultures (:104), replanting (:104). This comparison, in fact, corroborates the statement by the same author that in the lower Amazon "the basic agricultural methods have changed little since aboriginal times" (:101). The Tenetehara, a Tupi tribe of Maranhão (Wagley and Galvão), 1949), also use agricultural methods and processes which are in many respects actually identical to those observed among the Munduruki.

III. Social factors

*24/ Since agriculture is one of the bases of Munduruku subsistence, it is not surprising that it should also be reflected in the social life of the tribe. Certain social factors /19/ are determined or influenced by the garden-agriculture complex. I shall allude chiefly to the threefold relationship of:

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor;
2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance;
3. Garden and tribal group: intraterritorial migrations.

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor between the sexes:

422 *462 Among the Indians, there is ordinarily a rule or agreement whereby each person is the owner of what he acquires, makes, or produces.

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432 462 Thus, certain rights of exclusivity are established beforehand for the individual. This is expressed in the principle of the sexual division of labor. For example, the raw materials and the products [505 123] of basket making are exclusively the property of the man; clay and pottery articles, of the woman. Traditionally, basket weaving is done only by men, pottery making only by women. In all sectors of tribal life, the tasks devolving to each sex are determined by these traditional principles. Thence derives the concept of private property.

462 [163] Throughout the material culture of the Munduruků, as well, the two work cycles—of men and of women—are clearly evident. This "muscle-bound" division only concerns us here as regards agriculture. The subject, however, is almost a borderline case, where these two work cycles meet. In agriculture there are tasks 241 462 performed exclusively by men, especially in the initial phase of the preparation of the plot; and there are tasks performed exclusively by women, especially from the time /20/ of planting onward; but there are also joint tasks, in which both sexes participate, such as in the planting of bitter manioc. There the man opens up the pit with the digging stick and the woman places the branch or shoot of manioc in the open hole and closes it by stepping on it.

The tasks at each garden stage are thus determined by the system of "muscle-bound" cycles. An outline provides the following pictures:

TASKS

of the man	of the woman
1. Choosing the site and the soil	- -
2. Determining the size and shape	- -
3. Clearing the undergrowth	- -
4. Felling the trees	- -
5. Burning the felled vegetation	- -
6. Piling up the remaining brush	- -

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of the man	of the woman
7. Burning the remaining brush	- -
8. Planting: opening the pit	Planting: burying the manioc shoots
9. - -	Weeding the garden
10. - -	Doing the second weeding of the garden
11. - -	Harvesting: pulling up the manioc roots, tearing up the plot.

This basic outline applies to normal cases. If there is pressing need or urgency, the man may help, at times, in weeding, cleaning, and even harvesting tasks. But in themselves, these are tasks peculiar to the woman, and they devolve by right to the woman in accordance with the working cycle.

This division of labor presents yet another facet. It does not exist merely as regards the preparation and usage of the garden, but also as regards the very species of cultivated plants. There, too, there is a certain exclusivity, to wit: the man alone plants and cultivates watermelon, pumpkins, peanuts, papaya, and beans.

In the case of most cultivated plants or seeds, however, there is a joint task involved in the manner already mentioned: the /21/ man opens up the pit and the woman puts in the shoots or seeds of bitter manioc, yam, sugar cane, maize, rice, pineapple, banana tree, etc., etc.

The terminology applying to the concept "garden" is also dependent upon this division of labor into two cycles according to sex. There are two words for "garden": the man says kat, the woman ko. These two terms are not, properly speaking, a dual designation of the garden, but they refer to the garden while it is under the care of one of the sexes. These are relative terms. Thus, kat, the term used by the men, covers the preparation of the plot until planting time—the clearing job performed by the men. Ko, the women's word for "garden," covers the woman's labors in the plot from the

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241 192 462 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko as "planting." Ithus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does clear but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

241 621 It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Munduruků who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those [178] [591] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Munduruků Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Munduruků who are already more or less acculturated and live on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc., rivers.

241 476 621 /22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or less the primitive or traditional form of the Munduruků agricultural system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance. Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Munduruků/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

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harvested all his crops and abandoned the land to the secondary growth which begins to cover it. 'It may be used by anyone.' /Cited in English/ (Wagley and Galvão, 1949: 50).

exists, therefore, a temporary property right, while /the plot/ is being used: a right that might more aptly be termed of usage or usufruct.

This concept is complemented by the other facet of the matter, involving the labors /expanded on/ and the products of the plot. Included here is the aggregate of the men's and women's tasks (in accordance with the cycles of labor); and the family, which in itself forms a small community, asserts its rights.

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The concept of this right to seemingly communal property derives from the division of labor between men and women. By individual right, each is the master and owner of what he produces, makes, etc. The man prepares the field, the clearing (kut), and is the owner of it. Strictly speaking, therefore, the woman plants on alien property (i.e., the man's or husband's) and pays him for the usufruct of this right, later on, with the produce of her planting. In other words: as indemnification for his preparation of the plot, the man or husband may share in the produce of her planting. On the other hand, the woman is the owner of the planting, and the man or husband cannot, according to the rights of private property, enjoy the fruits of someone else's planting, even if it be his own wife's. He does, however, acquire a certain right to the planting, not of property but of usufruct, because his clearing labor made its existence possible. The woman thus has the obligation to allow her husband the usufruct of her planting, within the framework of the division of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with reciprocal rights (or, inversely, duties) which are normalized and counterbalanced by the right of "indemnification." Indeed, in terms of the division of labor, this right of indemnification is absolutely necessary. What would the man do with the plot since he cannot plant, this being the woman's

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*241 421 462 594 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

*241 476 [928] Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community owns the individual, or rather, the

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13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Munduruká, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Munduruká of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angélico in a village of the interior, in Pará[illegible]. According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Munduruká was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that, originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the garden were based, precisely, on mutual

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241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Munduruká family regarding the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Munduruká? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Munduruká have given up the system of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus toodeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Munduruká the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)